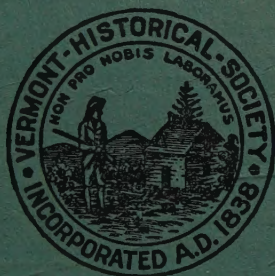


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PROCEEDINGS
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VERMONT
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Memoirs: The Reverend Benjamin Wooster
Two Documents Relating to Ira Allen
"The Hill Country of Northern New England."
A Review
Postscript

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Montpelier Vermont

DECEMBER

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of the
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Montpelier Vermont
1936

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The problem of publishing interesting and useful material is always a challenge to an editor, and his success is often guided by suggestions that come to him from critical readers, whether they are constructive or destructive in their criticism. Readers who have an impulse to "take their pens in hand" are invited to pen their suggestions to the Editor before the impulse has taken wing. Plans for the next year's issues are being formulated, and every hint from our readers will be given earnest consideration.

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P V H S
Proceedings of the
Vermont Historical Society
1936

NEW SERIES

Issued Quarterly

VOL. IV No. 4

MEMOIRS: THE REVEREND
BENJAMIN WOOSTER

Here is the story of a Vermont pastor, who as a young lad enlisted for service in the Revolution, secured his college training at Yale University, and became an influential minister in the State. The casual reader will find the story interesting in human appeal; the reader with historical or social interests will glimpse through the lines phases of the Vermont life of long ago now dimly seen. Historians in recent years have been turning more and more from the older, more limited conceptions of historical study and are beginning to study the life of a people as a whole; in such research, memoirs, journals, and diaries of all kinds are significant in their revelations. These memoirs have their place, even if minor, in the history of Vermont's past. Our text follows faithfully a copy of the original manuscript which was in Mr. Wooster's handwriting; and the characteristics of the writer's style, as they appear in the copy, are retained. Editor.

IN the year 1838, while I am in the 76th year of my age, broken down with Age and infirmities, & expecting soon to leave my family untill we meet in another World, I think it not unsuitable to leave the following sketch of my family & my toils. It may be totally uninteresting to them; but I can assure them, it is not so to me. These sketches are taken not from my broken memory; but from Documents & Memorandums which I have carefully preserved. If I shall leave anything to induce my children to have a sacred regard for

Industry, economy and Vital piety, my highest hope would be accomplished.

My body I commit to the dust, in hope of a Resurrection unto life eternal; my Soul I commit to God, thro' Jesus Christ, to keep against that day when redeemed Sinners will stand before God rejoicing, dressed in the Righteousness of Christ.

Jesus Christ is *all* in *all* to me. I plead no merit of my own, *but his*.

I Benj' Wooster was born in Waterbury, in the County of New-haven & State of Connecticut, Oct'r 29, 1762.

My father, Wait Wooster, was the son of Abraham Wooster, who was the son of Abraham Wooster, the Father of Gen. David Wooster, but by a different Mother. I have heard that this ancient Abraham Wooster was in the habit of visiting the New Hampshire & Massachusetts Worcesters & calling them Cousins.

My Father, Wait Wooster, had three brothers, Miles, Hinman & Abraham. Hinman went into Virginia, & there acquired a large property in land & Slaves, & died childless. Miles & Abraham after the Revolution removed into the State of New York, with their children.

Gen'l David Wooster Married the daughter of President Clap, who always lived in the atmosphere of Yale College & was a Woman of uncommon Science & information. Her husband was a Brigadier Gen'l in the American Army, & was killed by the British in the Spring of 1777, while pressing upon them in their retreat from Danbury; where they had been to destroy some Stores & provisions. He died covered with honor; left his Widow rich, with but one Son, Capt Thomas Wooster; & one daughter who married a Mr. Ogden, an Episcopal Clergyman. Capt Thomas Wooster acted as only sons, left rich are wont to do; went into wholesale trade, went beyond his length, ruined himself & much embarrassed his Mother. He then purchased a Vessel & transported many into Mexico, then in the Spanish Dominions; where he had large offers of land for himself & settlers. And when Mexico revolted from Spain, I saw his name among the chief men, in that revolt. I taught four of his Sons one or two quarters, gratis, in my School in Chapel Street, Newhaven. While doing this, the Generals Widow visited me at my boarding house; & told me that the Gen'l left a family tree, which traced back our ancestry for a number of generations. He told how far back one brother settled in Massachusetts and spelt his name after the

name of a Town, Worcester; the other settled in Connecticut & wrote his name Wooster. So that it is but one name, and all sprang from the same root. I intended to call & take a copy of this tree; but was much taken up with settling off my College dues, in preparing for the Ministry, & in attending to a large School; & so failed. This would have enabled me to answer a question, often asked: "What relation do you bear to Noah, Thomas, Leonard & Samuel Worcester?" This question I was never able satisfactorily to answer. A Mr. Worcester, whether Son to Leonard or Samuel, I know not, wrote lately to me from Hartford, Connecticut, to assist him to trace back the Wooster & Worcester lines to ascertain whether both came from the same stock. I could do little more than refer him to Gen'l Woosters papers, on this subject.

The Mr. Worcester, Missionary among the Cherokees, who nobly withstood the Georgia Mob & Gen'l Jackson; but was dragged to prison, Tailed to an horse, must be the Son of Leonard, or Samuel Worcester. He stood for his rights till he found that Gen'l Jackson neither feared God, nor regarded man; that he would not obey a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, & then relinquished Right, to power. Jackson & the people of Georgia, were intent upon robbing the Indians of their Lands, & so are driving a great host of Warlike people into a compact neighborhood, where they will be in a situation in company with the Slaves, at no distant day, most dreadfully to chastise the slave holding States. It is miserable policy to collect 30 or 40 thousands Warriors, into one body. But God always infatuates whom he intends to destroy.

Indians & Negro's we have in abundance—& they are men, & freemen—& there is no other way to give equal privileges to all. I should rejoice to see an Indian, a Negro & a White man all sitting together on the floor of Congress. Every man has an equal right to live where he pleases, to amass property and to be eligible to office.

My father, Wait Wooster, was born Apr. 22d 1732, was married in 1758 to Phebe Warner, & died May 13th 1770 in the 39th year of his age. He attached himself to the Episcopal order, altho' he made no pretensions to vital piety. My Mother was a Congregationalist, but after her Marriage, hopefully pious, attached herself to the same order with her Husband, & had all her children baptized in that way. Mr. Scofield the Episcopal Clergyman, drew about 100 pounds yearly from the British Crown. This greatly attached him & his people to the British Government. Other Orders had to sup-

port their Ministers for themselves. He remained Pastor of the Chh thro' the War of the Revolution, & then to draw his back salary for 8 years, he left his people destitute & removed to Novascotia. Had my Father lived but a few years longer, he would undoubtedly have been a Tory. I have often rejoiced that he died before he entailed that disgrace on his children. My Father was a Merchant & died while in trade, & when the estate came to be settled, little or nothing was left for a Widow & six small Children. Thus we were cast into the World with no inheritance but a wise discrete & pious Mother. What a mercy! Oft has my heart risen in gratitude to God, for such a heavenly treasure. The day of judgment will disclose the great value of pious Mothers to poor fatherless children. The six children left for my poor Mother to provide for, were Moses, Hinman, Polly, Benjamin, Wait & Abraham. These were all put out, mostly to dissenters, now called Congregationalists. Moses lived with my Mothers brother, Stephen Warner, a wealthy & respectable dissenter, untill he entered the Army in 1777 for 3 years. There he endured the privations & hardships of the Revolution. He attended Washingtons Army to Valley forge, west of Philadelphia; & returned with that army when pursuing the British, while attempting to go by land from Philadelphia to New York, in 1778. In the winter of 1779 Washington sent Lord Sterling on to Staten Island to take a fort. He placed his guards, and placed my brother with a few others on the Van Guard in plain sight of the Fort, & also of his main body. Lord Sterling thought proper to retire without attempting to meddle with the fort; & moved off without calling in his front guard. These men did not feel at liberty to leave their post without orders, & so kept it. A company of British Horse sallied forth upon them; & as they came up my brother discharged his piece, & a British Sergeant was killed. The horsemen rushed on, and as a horseman struck with his Sword to split my brother down, he dodged the blow and leaped down a steep bank, where the Horse could not go. They went on to attend to the rest, & my brother hid himself among the Ivy bushes, intending to stay till dark and then cross on the ice to the Jersey Shore. When the troops returned they reported that they saw him killed, cut down by a blow from a horseman. This we all supposed to be true: but he lay concealed among the Ivies untill near sunset; when a boy going to play among the bushes, discovered him & reported to a British guard placed near by, at a house on the bank. They came & took him prisoner. He had not shut his pan,

nor wiped the burned powder from his musket. This made them rage like British savages, saying, "you killed the Sergeant." They fell to beating him with their guns, swords, & fists; & all but killed him. Then they took him to New York, cramed him into the Sugar house, where they fed him on damaged provisions and probably poisoned him, in hopes of ridding themselves of those whom they could not kill in battle. Extermination was their policy. Here he stayed till May 1780, when my term of enlistment had expired. I had got home, and was sitting at dinner at my Uncle Stephen Warners, & in came Moses. Such a spectacle as would move the Sympathies of any men who are not more than totally depraved. His apparel shabbied, his hair gone from his head, & his body emaciated! My God! must we own our descent from such a vile Nation of Savages!

He tarried with us for a season, recruited his health, & then enlisted into the light Dragoons for the rest of the war. Was at the taking of Cornwallis, & was disbanded with Washingtons Army. He went thro' all this without contracting any bad habits, as drunkenness, or profanity; and died at Cornwall, Vermont, August the 26th 1829 Aged 70 years. He left four Sons, Dorastus, Whitfield, Alvin and Roderick. These are all respectable people in Addison County, in this State.

My Brother Hinman joined the Army in the Spring of 1777, as he said, for three years. When my time was out & I called for my discharge, I found that I was enrolled for during the War, but I was able to prove my enlistment for three years; so I was discharged, & Hinman was altered on the rolls for during the War. He served his 3 years & found he was Registered for during the War. He wrote to me & told me how it was, but declared that he would not serve during the War; gave me orders to go to Hartford and draw his States bounty—which I did & drew about 49 pounds which was upon interest. These Notes were worth about two shillings & six pence on the pound. This I kept carefully for him, Interest & principal, untill it became good by being assumed by Congress.

He left the Army & fled into the Country; went to Boston, went on Board of a Merchant Vessel, & sailed to forreighn parts. He did so till the War closed. He then sailed into N. York, & wrote home. He informed us that he had a Wife & child near Boston, & he meant to come & see us. Instead of this, he sailed again on a long voyage to the East Indies, and died on his passage. I sent a Wagon to Bos-

ton & brot' his widow & child to Cornwall. I paid to her some more than One third of his property in my hands, & then paid over the rest \$455 to a Guardian for the benefit of the child. All this came from 49 pounds of depreciated States Notes.

Polly was an ambitious little girl, full of life & vigiour; she was put out where she was required to lift heavy pots & kettles, & so lost her health, was sick about 20 years, cost my Mother several hundred dollars to take care of her. She finally so recovered as to follow me into Vermont, & was married to Deacon Daniel Sampson; by whom she had two fine daughters, Betsy & Polly, who became pious & settled well with pious Husbands. Polly my sister died in the triumph of faith, November the 8th 1802. She died as she lived, as we all shall.

Wait & Abraham followed me into Vermont. Wait resided in Corwall, had a number of sons & one daughter who make respectable people in that town. Wait was long a reputable member of the Chh in Cornwall, and died Nov. 15, 1829.

Abraham followed me to Fairfield, became hopefully pious, resided a number of years with us & removed with a numerous family into the State of NewYork. Thence he removed into Ohio, where he now lives, a reputable Christian & a prosperous farmer, in 1838. His sons names were [*Not listed in manuscript. Ed.*]

I come now to speak of myself. I feel like a very unworthy subject. All I can say is "That by the grace of God I am what I am." I know that I deserve no favorable notice of heaven, yet have ever enjoyed Gods special protection. I am vastly indebted to Gods marvellous mercy. I was born Octr. 29th 1762, just at the close of the French war. I was 8 years old when my Father died in 1770. When I was about 2 years old while my Father was harvesting, the older children took me into the field & kept me under the shade where the bottles of Rum were left; & fed me so plentifully with that poison, that I came near to the borders of the dead. This made ardent spirits very offensive to me, thro' the Revolution; & perhaps saved me from being a drunkard. O what a mercy while it was no virtue in me.

When I was 14 years old, in the fall of 1776 I enlisted for four Months & served under Genl. David Wooster, between Horse neck & Kings bridge, the British being then in New York.

When I returned home in the Spring, one of my Neighbors was drafted for two Months to protect the sea coast. I took his place as

a substitute, now in my 15th year. I went to New haven; recruiting Officers were plenty, they asked if I were 16 years old; desirous to get into the Army, I told them I was, & enlisted May 6, 1777 for three years; took my bounty of 20 Continental dollars, & returned home to Waterbury the same day. My Mother wept & said She was afraid I was an undone child. It affected me to see her weep, but I could not be denied the privilege of being a Soldier. Indeed, I knew nothing & feared nothing, & rushed into all the danger I could find.

I left my \$20 bounty with my Mother and moved on to join the grand Army at Peekskill. When I arrived at Newton where my Colonel John Chandler resided, I stopped over the Sabbath. Some of the Soldiers attended the Episcopal Chh; & when they read their prayers, & prayed for his most gracious Majesty King George, Queen Charlotte & all the royal family; one of the Soldiers sprang upon his feet, gave a Stamp, brot his flat hand down upon the fore seat in the Gallery & cried out, "God damn King George, Queen Charlotte & all the royal family." The people fled from the house as if the roof was falling in upon them. Col Chandler reproved the Soldier, & there the matter ended. We then went on to Danbury, a few weeks after the British had burned the Town & Stores of provisions for the American Army. We found the place in ruins, and the road greased up with the fat which ran from the burned pork barrels.

During our stay at Danbury, a Soldier was guilty of a crime, was tried by a Court Martial & whipped. This was new business to me, & struck me with deep horror. I thought likely I should be the next.

We then marched on to Peekskill & joined the main Army. Here we spent the Summer in idleness, & I was in the habit of going often to the River to bathe, which brot on a Dysentery, which nearly cost me my life. Late in the summer, the Army was ordered to cross the River & march towards Philadelphia. I begged to be put into a Wagon & to be allowed to follow the Army. But I was left sick & sent to the Hospital. Here I lay a mere Skeleton awhile, till Burgoine resigned his army at Saratoga, & the British came up the River to meet him, took fort Montgomery which was about four miles distant from us. We were turned out & lay all night upon our Arms; but the British came not near us.

When I became able to walk, we were ordered to follow the track of the Army, & we joined them as they evacuated Mud fort, a fortress on the Delaware below Philadelphia. By this sickness, I was kept out of three hard fought & wasting battles; Brandywine, Ger-

mantown, & Mud fort. In these a great part of my Regiment were killed or made prisners.

We then retired to Valey forge, about 18 miles west of Philadelphia, & built Huts for the winter. Here the Army were inoculated for the small pox, & many died of that & other diseases. I had it lightly, I have no recollection that I had so much as the headache.

Here the Army suffered greatly for food, & many died by diseases brot on by starvation. I found two or three ears of corn in an old corn field, which were left when they gathered the corn, the fall before. This greatly relieved me.

In the Spring the British evacuated Philadelphia, & undertook to march thro' New Jersey to New York by land.

Washingtons Army was now 16,000 strong & willing to meet the British wherever they could find them. They immediately pursued them thro' New Jersey & overtook them at Monmouth. It was the object of Washington to bring them to a general action; but this the British avoided, & the fighting that day was in detachments. I was in one, under Genral Lee, and sent to hang upon the British rear & provoke them to return & fight. At last they did return & we retreated before them, not allowed on pain of death, to fire a Gun. We were standing in an open field to be fired upon, but not to return a shot; when Washington & his suit came riding up to our right where Gen'l Lee stood, arrested Lee & gave the command to one of his Aids. We were quick formed in a line of Battle & for some time had warm work. The British were repulsed and fled to their Ships. At evening Volunteers were called for, to pursue them, I turned out for one; but afterwards we had counter orders & did not go. Washington arrested Lee for disobeying his orders. Lee declared that he never had such orders. Washingtons Aid declared that he gave such orders to him—So they fought a Duel and Lee was wounded. Afterwards tried and suspended. After Lees fall, Fayette commanded our Brigade for a while. The British went to New York & our Army marched to Kings ferry.

There was a call for volunteers, to be commanded by Gen'l Scott, to lie on the frontiers, near Kings bridge; & I volunteered for one. There we lay till late in the fall, when we were expecting an attack from the enemy. We were ordered to lie on our Arms, one night in an open, flat field, which we did. We lay down with our loaded muskets in our Arms, & went to sleep. In the night there fell a

heavy shot of rain, so that when we awoke in the morning, we were all but buried in the water. On the next day the wind blew up cold, & we had no opportunity to dry ourselves. This nearly cost me my life. A cold, stubborn diarrhea attended me long. We soon Marched to join our Regiment, which had gone into winter quarters at Reading in Conn, & had drawn their cloathing while we were miserably destitute. My Diarhea did not abate that winter. This was about 30 miles from Waterbury I obtained a furlough & went home. I was attended by the best Physicians, but gained no relief. I was very home sick and longed for the Camp. I returned to the Army, went to lying on the ground, and got well as I got sick, by hardship and exposure.

In the year 1779 I volunteered into Gen'l Waynes Infantry to lie between the main Army & the enemy. We were called *Hair Caps* from the mode of altering our hats into Caps. Gen'l Wayne gave orders for the Infantry to cross to the west side of Hudson's River, & to pitch our tents near the ruins of fort Montgomery. While preparing for this move, a young man, in mere play, came behind me, clasping his arms around both of mine & threw me upon my elbow. This so lamed me that I could not raise my hand to my head.

Gen'l Wayne marched his Infantry down the river about 14 miles in order to storm Stoney point, a British fort built near Kings ferry. As I was lame I was left to guard the Baggage.

Wayne went & stormed the fort, took about 600 prisners & much other property. My share of the prize money was \$80—this I lent till I could have an opportunity to send it home to my Mother. The man deserted to the British, & so I lost the whole. Eighty dollars more were stolen from my pocket while I lay a sleep on the grass after I had been on picket guard.

I was more careful of my money while young than I am now. My wages I carefully preserved. I used to buy apples by the quantity & sell them out to the troops. And I bought whiskey & sold it out by the Gill in my Gill horn cup. In one way & another I made considerable money, & as I had opportunity sent it home to my Mother, to keep for me: but it sunk to nothing and so I lost it. When my time was out I drew 9 Months pay, carried it home & with it bought a sheep worth One dollar. So fared they who achieved the Revolution. Nor did we murmur; we felt as if the Country were doing as well as they could by us. We knew that we owed our lives also to our Country. Property, or life could have no value, if we must be

a conquered people. I well remember, that I thought it would be an honor to die in such a cause.

To be conquered by such a cruel & savage Nation as England, we viewed worse than death. Their savage conduct we were experiencing every day."

In the fall of 1779 we retired to Morristown, in New Jersey & built Huts for the winter. It will be remembered by Old people that the winter of 1779-80 has ever borne the name of the hard winter. The snow was deep & the weather cold, & to make a hard winter harder, the British took a drove of cattle coming from New England to the Army; & before they could collect another drove we were well nigh starved to death. This was the 3d winter, in which we suffered most dreadfully with hunger.

From that day to this I can never see a man or beast hungry without imparting such as I have for their relief.

In May 1780 my three years expired & I received an honorable discharge. I left few in my Regiment who were there when I joined it. When my Regiment went to the South in 1777 it was 1000 strong; when it returned, it did not contain more than 300, altho' there was a constant stream of additions by new recruits. It was wasted by battles, by sickness, by small pox, by hunger & nakedness. And yet I a poor thoughtless sinner was one of the few preserved ones. Strange, when I sought every place of danger, by some remarkable providence I was kept alive thro' the whole; was not allowed to be in the danger which I sought. Oh the debt I owe to God! And while I resolve to be obedient, I find an unsubdued heart left yet. If I had died in the war, my soul must have sunk to an eternal hell. And now if I go there I shall eternally see the justice, but feel the pain.

In May 1780 I left the Army, returned home & hired myself out to work in the summer, but went to school in the winter. I followed this practice for three or four years. In this way I brot many to be indebted to me, & formed a strong thirst for learning.

Wishing to gain the knowledge of Surveying, Navigation & some of the higher branches of Mathematics, I went to the Academy at Lebanon Crank, about 50 miles from home, where I spent about 6 months. While there I had an interview with the Rev. Mr. Brockway, the Minister of the parish. He enquired into my circumstances & advised me to go to College—from this time I began to think seriously on this subject. But I felt great embarrassment, because I did

not wish to be at such great expense to make a Lawyer, nor a Physician, & I was unfit to be a Minister; I had no religion. On one Saturday afternoon I went with others to a River to wash me, and I strolled from the company & found a retired shade tree. Here I attempted to pray & to spread my case before the Lord. I had much tender feeling, was very solemn, the tears flowed freely & my business was to confer with God on the subject of attempting to obtain a public education. Here I solemnly covenanted with God, if he would carry me thro' a collegiate course of study, that I would devote myself to the Ministry. Here I determined on my future course of life. And altho' this Covenant was made in an unrenewed state, yet it has been the Governing principle of my life. I have ever felt myself bound by it. From this time I purchased books and began to studie the Languages with a view to College. In the fall, hearing that an Academy was set up in my Native Town I paid off for my board & tuition, and steered for home, with cloathes and books on my back & in my hand. I was so anxious to settle off all my bills that I reserved not money to carry me home. I travailed about 20 Miles, near the ferry at Hartford, & night came on. I was in trouble, I found I had not money to procure supper and lodging. And the sun sat no later for me. To beg I was ashamed, & so went into a barn & slept on the straw. In the morning as I left the barn, I met the owner at the door. He stared. And I felt unwilling to go off & leave the impression on his mind that I was lurking for plunder. So I told him the truth, that I was from Lebanon School & had not saved money to carry me home, so preferred that mode of lodging to begging. He saw me well dressed, & my books tied up in a handkerchief, & seemed to be satisfied. I went on, crossed the ferry, and had then more than thirty miles to walk to get home. I travailed on, felt faint for the want of food, but not discouraged. I had entered upon a great undertaking & must be sparing of my money. I reached the edge of Waterbury, called on an old friend, was refreshed, & so travailed home. I told my Mother I had commenced studies preparatory for College. She wept, & said I had been very steady & industrious, & laid up considerable property; & now to expend it all & fail as she thought I must was painful to her. Her feelings gave me trouble for I had fears that property would not hold out to carry me thro' five years study. But I was determined to go as far as I could. I had just been to School long enough to find that there were a thousand things which I did not know.

My Sister replied that I had earned my property with my own industry & she believed that I would lay it out prudently—and she was very willing that I should attempt to procure a public education. This quieted my Mother, & I proceeded with their consent.

I had now picked up the small remains of my depreciated Continental money, which had been sent home to my Mother, drawn about 50 pounds from the State, & earned enough to make my property worth about 200 pounds. With this I set out to procure a public education in Yale College.

There were then no Education Societies, no one to give a sixpence to help defray the expense. I could not go out & keep School in the winter as they do in Vermont Colleges. I must attend with the class steadily for four years. And it was one good years work to fit for College. My property was placed in the most growing situation, and every cent seemed to grow into two.

At the close of the freshman year, I went home & found the people had got a school ready for me thro' the vacation. The goodness & kindness of the people affected me to tears. I thought it was all from the Lord. Every thing seemed to work favorably to me. I returned to College with this impression on my mind. God was kind & doing all things well; and I had never made him any proper returns. I seemed to myself void of gratitude. In a few days I found myself & several others in College under deep conviction. I never saw myself so vile before. For a number of years I had been trying to regulate my conduct with decorum; but all my prayers & my morality now seemed spoiled by a wicked heart. I had ever said I could be pious if I wished to be so; I now wished it, but my heart stayed behind.

The only Chh member in the class lived with me. Accordingly our room was selected for prayermeetings. I read & prayed & was much engaged, but could see plainly that my prayers only came from the root of my tongue, there was no heart in them. Before this I thought pretty well of myself—I had prayed, wept, confessed my sins—In some measure, the outward commission of sin, I had avoided—attended prayermeetings—made a solemn covenant with God, to be devoted to the Ministry—read books in subserviency to that object—took minutes of Sermons which I heard preached—read the Bible & read it much.—In short, I was the washed Sow; my externals were mended; but my nature was not changed. Now I saw that all was rotten within.

My righteousness now failed me, & I was covered with sin as with a Garment! I found that all I had ever done was only sin! I found I must be born again & I hoped I soon should be.

In a few days, some of the Students entertained hopes & were rejoicing. This put my heart to the test. And because I dared not to be angry with God, I was angry with the young converts; I thought them to be Hypocrits. I envied them much. This I knew to be wrong, and was greatly alarmed with myself because it was so. I strove to check these feelings, but my heart was stronger than I; it would feel just like itself. And when I would do good, I found myself sinning in my heart. I here discovered that it was impossible for me to do well with such a heart as I had. My alarm greatly increased, I had been long awakened, but my heart was yet untouched, & no better. Others hoped & rejoiced: but this was no joy to me. I knew that I ought to rejoice in the salvation of others, altho I did not find mercy myself. But I found there was a great difference between *knowing* & *doing* duty.

It began to appear to me that I was marked out for destruction. Hell seemed to flash in my face! I was then in a good school, learning what all the world could not have made me believe. I could now see that I was totally destitute of all good—that I could ardently long for what I would not accept—that when I would do good, I was yet sinning. I now saw that I could go thro' all my prayers, tears, promises, covenants, & pursuit of religion, with an evil heart of unbelief. I found that I grew no better by all my prayers, tears & piety; but worse every moment, my heart was hard as a stone. I could restrain my outward conduct, but found my heart was unmixed enmity to God & all who were like him. This discovery filled me with the deepest horror. My pains were so great that I could not attend to my usual studies; & a number of us got leave of absence for that day, & retired out of the city into some bushes & there spent the day in prayer, over our deplorable situation. And truly deplorable was my case. I gained nothing by all this.

I used to think I could repent of my sins, if I would. I now found that repentance was hidden from my eyes. If worlds could have bought it I would have given them. I found it was neither to be bought nor sold. There must be a radical change in the temper of my heart, before peace could enter my troubled breast. And this I saw clearly must be of God; and him I was constantly sinning against, & provoking him to leave me forever. I saw clearly there

was nothing in me to lay God under obligation to save me. There was nothing in me that could be acceptable to God, or could be the condition of life. I found that I deserved to be damned for every *thought, word & action* of my life. I saw clearly that I should never do an acceptable act with such a heart. Christ, the eternally offered would never be accepted with such a heart. I could reject him, but never receive him with such a heart as mine. And I should never do any commanded duty, on account of which God would regenerate me. Hence if I was saved, it could not be for my sake. Thus the more of my selfish struggles I made the deeper I sunk in the mire. I found that God & Christ were never sought with such a heart as I possess. I found I neither sought God, or loved him; all I did was to attempt duty, and hate. This greatly alarmed me, & I almost sunk to despair. I saw nothing but damnation before my eyes. I felt as if it were hard in God to treat me thus, but I quick checked myself, knowing that God was right. I found that if my heart was not changed before I properly sought God, I must be damned. I could see clearly that such hearts seek not the lord; to seek is to love. Thus I was stripped of all my good things to recommend my self to God. Thus I was in a doleful case, a sinner, & sinning every moment, without a heart to get a heart to love God. At length, one evening about 9 Oclock, I left my room, and went to the farthest corner of College yard, cast myself upon the ground, upon my face, determined never to rise till I found mercy. I went here for prayer—I attempted it, but found prayer was not made by such creatures as I was. I found I had no heart to pray. This added greatly to my distress.

I pronounced death on myself and my wicked & stubborn heart. I could say words, but well knew that words were not prayer. I found there was no use in lying there in the dew; I arose & went to my room with such anguish as my pen cannot describe. I concluded that damnation was my portion, & that God would soon sweep me from the Earth. I found my room empty, and thought I would go to bed where I should not be disturbed with company.

I stood by my bedside & thought I would try once more to pray before I sunk to eternal death. As I opened my lips, I felt a new & strong desire to see the worst of my heart, and I had such a discovery as I was not able to endure. I found myself falling for want of strength to stand. I thought I was dieing, My mind quickly turned, that God would shew me so much of myself as I was able

to bear. And a gleam of light broke into my mind. I had a faint discovery of Christ & found that I could pray to him.

I had no ravishing views; but such as stilled the tempest in my mind, removed my burden & enabled me to pray with delight. I did not suppose that was the new birth, but the fear of hell was gone. God appeared right, let what would become of me. The war was over. But the above discovery was such that I have never said a word in favor of the carnal heart since. And I am persuaded that no person ever will who has been to the same School. And when I hear people telling of their acceptable unregenerate prayers, & of accepting Christ with their unrenewed hearts; I then know they never saw the worst of their evil hearts.

It was several Months before I dared to entertain a hope & join the Chh. I was dissatisfied with my experiences; I had not such a ravishing view of Christ as I thought I should have. I felt a sweet reconcillation to God, to Christ, & to his word: but my raptures were not high enough to suit me. I wanted to be as much affected by the sight of Christ, as I had been by my sins.

I was an Arminian before, now all this fled and left me. Nor do I believe that any person can be an Arminian who sees his heart just before he is born again. But now I could pray & it seems to come from my heart.

For a time, at Sacramental Seasons I used to stay & weep, & long to be with them, but dared not to venture there.

At length I thought I discovered the principle of love growing in my soul, prayer becoming easy & pleasant, Christians my choicest company, and bible truth which I had ever hated I thought my heart could embrace. And I ventured to join the Chh. And I have never been sorry: I have often been sorry for my sins, & that I lived no more to the glory of God: but I have never been sorry that I united with the people of God.

Alas! O Lord God, if I am a Christian why am I so small an one!

From this to the end of my College life, time passed on without any thing very interesting.

On my last year in College, I obtained leave to set up an independant School in Chapel Street about 40 rods from College. Here I could attend to both College & School without incommoding either. This year I earned about 80 pounds which enabled me to pay off all my College dues, with punctuallity.

I lost but one day this year from my School, & this was commencement day; the day on which I took my degree of Bachelor of Arts. I still continued my School for some time & read Divinity with Doct Jonathan Edwards. In this stage of my life, I had several besetments; I will mention some of them.

Some of my mates importuned me to go with them to the study of Law, say'g that I was better calculated for a Lawyer than for a Minister. And this I believed with shame.

Henry Daggett Esq, Alderman of the City, had been long in trade and wished to retire from business; offered to fill his Store with goods & take me into partnership; where I might make property fast.

My uncle Hinman Wooster of Virginia who had become wealthy on Land & Slaves, but had no children; wrote to me, that if I would go & superintend his plantation, he would make me his heir. And my solemn covenant made in unregency, under the Shade tree in Lebanon Creek came up, and as God had fulfilled on his part far beyond my expectations, I felt myself bound to devote myself to the Ministry, as I had agreed. And now I was willing to make any sacrifice to accomplish it. I dismissed my School in New haven, & took the Academy in Waterbury, & read Divinity under the direction of the Rev. Mark Leavenworth. With the avails of this I was enabled to purchase a Horse, Saddle & bridle, cloathing and books, preparatory to entering on my profession.

I then received a recommendation & authority to preach the Gospel from the New Haven County Association. From this time I went forth to proclaim glad tidings of great Joy to all people. Long had been my struggle, & many had been the privations and trials, thro' which I had to wade; but now I had reached the much wished for object. Astonishing, that a man should make such long & unabated exertions to qualify himself for the Ministry, & do no better after all. Alas! there is no going back to mend a poor life.

I preached four years, as a Candidate in 7 States, & had abundant and constant employment; & carefully laid up what I earned: but the fruits of my labors, I had little opportunity to know. My first Sermon I preached in my old Ministers pulpit in Waterbury, in presence of all my Mates who rushed in to hear me. I had well nigh failed to ascend the Pulpit Stairs, Whether I did well or ill I cannot tell. From thence I went to preach in Litchfield Farms, Bethlehem, Mass, South Brittain, Middlebury, Newfairfield. &c In South Brit-

tain I had an invitation for settlement; but I thought proper to decline.

I then concluded to take a tour into the new settlement of Vermont. And Sept 17th, 1793 I set out in company with the Rev. Saml John Mills of Torrington who is going on a Mission of two Months. We travail together to Dartmouth College. He persuades me to continue with him thro' his Mission, & promises to recommend me to the Missionary Society for compensation. I continue with him, ride 800 miles, wear out my horse and cloathes—preach 34 times after I reach Missionary ground. We made one mistake we travail too far & too fast, staying in one place only long enough to preach a single Sermon. I receive from the Society 9 pounds as compensation. I also receive an appointment to go with Mr. Mills to the westward for 2 Months. And on monday May 19th 1794 I set out on my 2d Mission with Mr. Mills.

We cross the River at Hudson, & pass on thro' Harpersfield, Schohara, Cherry valey Coopers Town, Unadilla, Chenango to settlements on Susquehannah & Delaware, & so back by way of Catskill; & so return home, having preached 51 times, visited and attended to other Ministerial labors. For these services I receive of the Missionary Society of Connecticut £11, 3, 6. During these Missions I received many invitations to preach with a view to settlement in Vermont, New Hampshire & N. York. But I was so attached to Connecticut that I could not yet bear to stop long out of it. In these early Connecticut Missions we were not allowed to take any pecuniary compensation. I preached at an old Scotchmans in Waterbury Vt; and after meeting, the old Gentleman came and offered me a York Shilling. I told him I was not allowed to take it. This may do for you said he, but how shall we do our duty? This was the first time the thought ever struck my mind, that preaching gratis took a privilege from the hearer. I reported the case to the Society, & after that they allowed contributions.

I have since had the pleasure to be informed by persons that my preaching on the above Missions was blessed to their souls everlasting comfort. One Soul snatched from the jaws of everlasting death, is compensation enough for travelling the World over & wearing out a whole life in Missionary toils.

In 1795 I leave Connecticut for Vermont, call on Doct Swift at Bennington, attend an Association in Sandgate & am employed for a short time in Castleton and Grenville. Here Capt Harris, afterwards

my Father in law, calls on me, as Committee from East Rutland, & engages me for 10 weeks. I go & board at his home. Some seriousness is soon apparent, & we set up conferences; an awakning is evidently begun. Sally & Timothy Harris are hopefully converted, and several others show hopeful appearances. This gave great alarm to people around the Court house. They called a meeting, invited people from abroad, & carried a vote to dismiss me. They said it would take six years to get back to the State in which I found them. They could not fault my preaching; but said they knew from a little what a great deal meant.

From East Rutland I went to Cornwall, and found them in a deplorable condition. The Chh was small, & more than 20 principal men contending with them, on account of their strict principles. They employed me, & I preached much, but seemed to know nothing of the opposition. I so preached untill I gained the hearts of both the Chh and those who had been struggling against them. The heaviest objection against the Chh was that they required a list of experience to be given by persons who came from other Churches to unite with them. When the matter came to be refered to me, I observed that it would not hurt a person to talk about his heart—we should always be redy to give the reason of our hope. That if this were a mistake in the Chh it was a harmless one, it injured no one. People came from very different Churches, strict & lax—that membership was very little evidence of piety—that what we required of one, we must require of all, or give offense—that the Chh must be the judges, as to whom the extended fellowship. It brot great scandal to receive a bad man into the Chh—and if the Chh wished for personal conversation before they received a Stranger to their fellowship, I thought it ought to give no offense. This seemed to silence them and the League was broken. We singled out those whom we thought to be pious, took them into the Chh, & rejected the rest. I preached about a year, a Town meeting was warned & they gave me an invitation to settle with them. There was but one dissenting voice in the town meeting. This one on being asked the reasons of his vote, said he did it to take off the curse. He ever after adhered close to me as my supporter, while I resided in Cornwall.

On hearing that my Sister, in Connecticut was very low & not likely to live, I took this opportunity to visit her. The Doctor prescribed Journeying, & She must not go on wheels, & was not able to sit on a horse & guide it herself. I owned a large & strong horse, I

set her on a pillion, filled my saddlebags with necessaries for her & set off for the green woods, in Massachusetts. At small stages I carried her more than 50 miles, to Sandisfield, in Berkshire County. Here I gave her rest among the pines, & preached around. Then I took her & went to Sheffield and Barrington; then south to Kent and Newfairfield; thence East thro' New Milford & Woodbury, home. When I came there She was able to sit on a gentle horse & guide it for herself. We then procured an easy going, pacing beast, with saddle & bridle, & I left her for the New State. I returned to Vermont Married Sally Harris, for whom I had been the hopeful means of conversion; gave my answer to settle in Cornwall. They gave me 80 pounds Salary, & 200 pounds Settlement; & a Council was sent for & a day for Ordination appointed. Before the day came, my Sister found company & came to my boarding house in Cornwall. She was gladly received & lived with me till she Married Deacon Daniel Sampson, by whom she had two lovely daughters, Betsy & Polly, and died Nov 8th 1802. She died happy as she had lived piously. After Ordination, I lived happily with my people, & the interest of religion seemed to prosper. There was a general awakening; but scarcely a Month passed without some hopeful conversions. Notwithstanding the many deaths & removals, the Chh grew to more than 130 members.

After Ordination I lived there about five years. I spoke somewhat freely of Jeffersons notions of worshipping One God or twenty—the Majority of the People were Federalists, a Minority were French democrats, & some opposition arose.

At length my Father Harris sold his property in East Rutland, with a view to remove to Ohio, where he had three Sons, & one of them the Minister of Grenville. My wife said She could not easily endure, to see her parents go where She could never see them again. I told her I would go with them. Accordingly I foolishly and wickedly asked for a dismission and called upon the Chh to vote for it. They did not vote it; but I told them I should declare it a vote if they did not object. So I declared the vote and a Council was called. The Chh requested that they might have one more communion season, before we parted. We had one, & the fullest which we ever had.

A Council convened & reported no cause of dismission. I then informed the Council that I was settled by the Town & hence not a cent of my Salary was collectable by Law—that about \$600 lay back

unpaid, & it was optional with individuals to pay or not to pay—& by holding me there they would undo me—that my old arrears ought to be secured. My settlement became mine if I served that people to years, i. e. a tenth of it yearly. The Council took care to secure arrearages, & reported in favor of my dismissal. The old arrearages some more than balanced the part of my Settlement which I had to refund. So pecuniary concerns were easily adjusted. And I was separated from the best people with which I ever was acquainted.

I made great preparation to go to Ohio; but I could not sell my Lands for Cash at that time—my Father Harris gave up going & so I relinquished the design. I have ever thought that I did wrong in leaving Cornwall, & that a divine frown lay upon me for it.

During my stay in Cornwall I went to Whipple hollow to preach, a parish between Pitsford & West Rutland. I preached on the words, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." I explained the words to mean, that if any said the Lords prayer and felt hard & implacable towards any others, they prayed for their own damnation. We were taught to pray that God would treat us as we treated others. A woman who was present, went home, & when She came to lie down to sleep; began as usual to say the Lords prayer, but skipped the words of my text. She dared not to pray that God would treat her as She did others. And then She could not rest because She had not said the whole. So She had a sleepless night. In the Morning She was in deep conviction. So She continued untill hopeful conversion. Some of the family by this time were in trouble. It spread among the people, untill about 40 were converted.

After my dismissal in Cornwall, on June 9th 1802, I leave Cornwall & cross the Lake on a Mission of 3 Months under Berkshire Missionary Society. I travail & preach 80 Sermons in different parts of Vermont & New York. Formed one Chh, baptized 29 persons & performed much Ministerial labor. I had more curious trials to encounter than I have time to write or my childrens patience to read?

At Crown point I was called to attend the funeral of a young child of some young people, who lived in the house with their Father, who was a rank Infidel. In my address to the Mourners the old man stepped out at the door & walked carelessly round. I was as solemn & close as I knew how to be; yet perfectly tender. We went and buried the child & returned; I was invited to stay all night. At bed time the Old Lady presented me with a candle & told me where

I would sleep. And said I, must I go to bed without prayers? She almost fainted, saying we have no such things here. She went to the family, they made preparation, & we attended. In the morning while breakfast was preparing the Old man flung down, for me, Voltaire's Christianity unveiled. I told him I should be ashamed to be caught reading that book. It brot up the bad conduct of men, who broke the Law, & abused the Gospel, to prove that the Law, & Gospel were not true. The Old man said but little. When I came to attend morning prayers, I made a most serious address to the family & they felt it. The old man arose & left the room, & I heard a year afterwards that he had never been seen since. He could not endure to see his family weeping because destitute of religion. I left the family serious and the Young man under deep conviction. For the rest we must wait till the day of judgment! I left, & went on my Mission.

I went to the great flats and called on Esq—— He frankly told me that he believed the Bible to be a falsehood. I asked him for the principle reason for his so believing? He said, that Mr. Miller a Missionary from Connecticut, had been there, and so explained the 24th Chapter of Matthew, as to apply it to the end of this elementary world. I told him that if I believed this Chapter to describe the end of the world, I should disbelieve the Bible too. For Christ expressly says that "this Generation shall not pass away till all these things are fulfilled." That generation has long ago passed away. This proves that what is applied to the end of the world, referred to the destruction of the Temple, and Nation of the Jews, in the prophetic language of Isa 13. 10, 34, 4 Joel 3d 14 & Rev. 6. 14. It was all fulfilled before that generation which heard the threatning, passed away.

The 25th Chapter relates to the last Judgment. The end of the world will be very different from this. All will not die, but all will be changed in the twinkling of an eye; go thro' what is equivalent to death and resurrection, in a Moment. This explanation was entirely satisfactory, & his difficulties with this Chapter were entirely gone. The management of this chapter is only calculated to make Deists, if men have good common sense.

A man at the same town came to meeting & told me that he had come, and if these Missionaries did not go straight he would straighten them. He then wanted to talk with me, I made it the condition of my conversing with him that he should make a confession for the indecent threat which he had thrown out. He declined,

& I refused to converse with him. And he went away with the total disapprobation of the whole Congregation.

Again. While I was sitting at Judge Moors table & conversing with him on the subject of his joining the Chh, I said nothing to his wife, She arose & left the table. The Judge told me that She went away to weep because I said nothing to her about her Soul.

I felt dreadfully reproved & determined to speak to people on the subject of religion, if they did resent it. Soon I crossed the Lake & tried all day to get a lecture in Alburgh, but failed. I went to the Tavern & put up. As I turned from my supper table, I saw the woman of the house sitting by the fire, & I tried to introduce religious conversion. She replied that She "did not wish to talk religion." I replied that there was a decent way to avoid it. This shut her up and left me to say what I thought my duty to say.

By this time a Woman came in from the other room apparently far gone with the consumption. I attempted to introduce religious conversation with her; She broke out quickly that she did not want to talk religion. She did not believe in going about from house to house, talking religion & making disturbance among the Neighbors. She believed, if she read her good books and said her prayers, She should go to Heaven." In this way I was cured of my wonderful streak of piety, & I learned that there was no use in casting Pearls before Swine. I find we need not always speak, but choose out favorable times to speak to careless sinners on the concerns of their Souls.

Out of many occurrences which are constantly transpiring on a Mission, I mention but one more.

I appointed a lecture in Georgia, Vt; & when I came to the place some time before the people collected, I was told that a man had fallen from a Mill & broken the Spine of his back, & must certainly die. I proposed to some pious persons to walk with me to the house, They said it was useless, he was a Deist and would drive all serious people from his bed side—he would only insult me. By this, my desires to see him, were greatly increased. I urged them, & we went to the house. I said nothing to the sick man, but conversed with the family, & every word was designed for him.

He was a young man with a family, but they were over the Mountain, & he was at his Fathers on a visit. I told them I was a Missionary, & it was my duty to look up people in affliction & to administer comfort so far as I could. For this purpose I had come to that af-

flicted house. The family were in tears. His father went to his bed side & I heard him, in a whisper, ask him if he wished for prayers. He answered, loud, *No*. He then weeping asked me to pray. I replied, does your son wish it? He replied, I wish it. I then turned to the sick man, he was dead from his hips downward, and told him that I wished with his leave, to ask him one question. He said I might. I asked him if he would agree before all these witnesses, not to accuse me of unfaithfulness at the bar of God, if I would go away & say nothing to him respecting his Soul's salvation? He choked and declined to answer. The door I then considered open, for me. I brot up his ruin by sin—then held up the Saviour with open Arms—and begged him to accept before it was everlastingly too late. He then had an opportunity to be eternally blessed! We hoped it was not too late, & God had sent me to give him, perhaps his last call. I asked him if he prayed in his family? He said, *No*. I replied perhaps God had noticed it & was going to take him away, so that his children might go into pious families. I had known many instances of this kind. He melted, wept, but made no reply. When he melted, I softened my speech, & tenderly pointed him away to the Saviour again. I attended prayer, commended him to God & to his grace, & bade him farewell. And all this was without his attempt'g to silence me as he had others. It was surprising to many that I had received no indignity! I went to my appointment, & at the close, a Messenger came in and informed that a Woman had died in the vicinity, & requesting me to stay another day, & preach a fun'l Sermon. I did so; and when the people were collected for the funeral, I received a feeling request for prayers from the broken backed man. I mentioned it to the Assembly & told them I would give the request in his own words; they were feeling words; but gone from me at this time. The whole Congregation dropped their heads, in tears. I observed that we could only pray for him, & that must be a guilty soul who should neglect this! We had a glowing season of prayer. I preached, & went to the northward. He shut away no more pious people from his bed side; but invited their attendance. He lived about two weeks spent the time as a penitent broken hearted person; & died hopefully a good man. I have found that we needed to know the case, & then use a degree of skill, when we make approaches in the important art of winning souls to Jesus Christ!

On January 18. 1803 I commence a 2d Mission under Berkshire Missionary Society—travail thro' various parts of Vermont & New

York, for three months. In this time I preach 79 times attend 15 conferences, & one Chh meet'g to settle difficulties in the Chh. I find in Rutland, Pittsford & parts adjacent a powerful awakning & spend some time there.

On tuesday June 21st 1803 I set out on my 3d Mission under Berkshire, for 3 months, in various parts of Vermont & New York. I preach 102 Sermons baptize 22 persons, attend 18 Chh meetings and conferences, formed One Church, introduce Catechism into two Schools, Administer the Lords supper once, attend one General concert, two general meetings, & leave events with God for the last Judgment.

On Jan'y 5th 1804 having yesterday finished my former Mission, I this day enter upon my 4th & last Mission under Berkshire Society for 16 weeks. My labors extend to various parts of N. York & Vermont. I preach 99 times, baptize 34 persons, attend 13 conferences, one Ordination, 2 General meetings, one Fast, formed 3 Churches, visited two Schools, administered Lords supper 4 times & spend 3 days in settling difficulties in Churches.

When I went down to Massachusetts to adjust my concerns with the Missionary Society, I attended an Association at Terringham in Berkshire County. At night a number of us were assigned to a particular house to lodge. We spent the evening in prayer, & conversation with the young people of the family. It was evident to us that our Labors were not in vain. Several showed signs of deep feeling. We sat up late to attend to them, & then commended them to God for the night. On the next morning their impressions were still more apparent. We spent the time with them till late in the forenoon; left them in a very solemn frame, & went to attend Association. The Ministers took it upon them to reprove us for late attendance. We could give them no explanation, nor told them why we were so late. The subject was too delicate to be published, as we knew not the result. We chose to leave it with God, & bear the reproof. After I had returned home to Vermont I received a letter from the Ministers turning their reproofs into thankfulness. The result was, the hopeful conversion of a number of the family where we staid, & an extensive spread of religion among the people.

In the early part of 1804 I came to Fairfield, where I still reside in 1838. I preached in Fairfield before Installation 60 Sabbaths. I preached my first Sabbath for which the people of Fairfield were to compensate me, on the Sabbath Feb 19th 1804.

Before Installation, which was on July 24th 1805 I preached 148 Sermons, attended 23 Conferences, administered 24 baptisms, my minutes say but 3 Chh meetings, admit 7 to the Chh, administer Lords supper 5 times, attended 2 General Concerts, meetings for Catechisings 2, visit One School, attend 2 Monthly Conferences, and one Consociation.

The next period will reach from Installation to Nov 6 1806, when my Mission under Vermont Society will begin. In this period I preach 163 Sermons, attended 34 Conferences, administered 39 Baptisms, attended 5 Councils, 9 Chh meetings, admit 8 persons to the Chh, administer Lords supper 9 times, attend 4 general Conferences & form 1 Church, i. e. assisted.

On Wednesday Nov. 5. 1806 my Mission, for 8 weeks, under Vermont begins. In this period, which lasts untill April 6. 1807, I preach 67 times, form One Chh, administer Lords supper 3 times, baptized 36 persons, attended one Council of two days, admitted 17 to Chh relation, attended 4 conferences, visit 4 Schools & many families. Great God must all this be lost upon hard hearts & careless Christians! It *must* except thou add thy blessing! Water, O God, thine own garden, and let the fruit appear.

In 1806 and 1807, besides Services on my Mission I preach 228 times, attend 18 Conferences, administer 15 baptisms, the Lords supper 8 times, admit to the Chh 12 persons, attend 13 Chh meetings, 3 concerts for prayer, 4 Ordinations, 1 Consociation, & 1 Council.

in 1808 I preach 113 Sermons, attended 29 conferences, administered 2 baptisms, attended 10 Chh meetings, admit One to the Chh, Administer Lords supper twice, attended 2 Concerts, 1 Ordination & 1 Consociation. i. e. it is so if I have made no mistake in counting on my Memorandum.

In 1809 preached 95 times, attended 21 conferences, Baptized 11 persons, attended 9 Chh meetings, admitted 3 to the Chh, administered Lords supper 3 times, attended 1 Ordination & 1 General concert. This besides a Mission.

In 1810 I preached 124 Sermons, assisted to form 2 Churches, attended 59 conferences, administer 19 baptisms administer Lords supper 6 times.

In Sept 17th 1809 I commenced my last Mission under Vermont, for 10 weeks, preach 78 Sermons, baptize 8 persons, administer Lords supper 5 times, attend 2 Councils, 10 conferences, 2 Associations & make many religious visits.

In 1811 I preach 137 times, attend 62 conferences, administer 21 baptisms, attended 9 Chh meetings, administer Lords supper once, admit 30 persons to the Chh, attend 1 Ordination & 1 Consociation.

In 1812 Preach 157 times, attend 11 Conferences, 1 Concert, administer 29 baptisms & Lords supper 5 times.

In 1813 Preach 139 Sermons, attend 7 conferences, 1 Chh meeting, one concert for prayer, admit 1 to the Chh, administer 47 Baptisms & Lords supper 4 times.

In 1814 I preach 139 Sermons, attend 3 conferences, baptize 2, Administer Lords supper 3 times, attend 3 Chh meetings, admit to the Chh 35, attend 4 concerts and 4 Councils.

In 1815 Preach 124 Ser, attend 97 conferences, 10 Chh meetings, Administer 26 baptisms, Lords supper 8 times admit 69 persons to the Chh, attend 2 concerts & help form One Church.

In 1816, Preach 141 times, attend 40 conferences, 4 Chh meetings, Administer 41 baptisms, administer Lords supper 9 times, admit to the Chh 32, attend 1 concert, form 1 Chh and attend 1 Installing council.

In 1817 I preach 135 Sermons, baptize 12, attend 20 conferences, admit 22 persons to the Chh, administer Lords supper 9 times, attend 1 Consociation, 1 Association & 1 Council.

In 1818. I preach 147 Sermons, baptize 19, attend 25 conferences, 10 Chh meetings, admit 43 to the Chh, administer Lords supper 10 times, attend 1 Consociation, 1 Association, & 1 concert of prayer.

In 1819 Preach 170 Sermons, Bap 37, attend 28 conferences, 6 Chh meetings, receive to the Chh 22, administer Lords supper 10 times, attend 5 concerts, form 2 Churches, attend 1 Consociation, and 3 councils.

In 1820 Preached 191 Sermons, administered 85 Baptisms, attended 52 Conferences, 11 Chh meetings, receive to the Chh 64, administer Lords supper 17 times, attended 4 concerts, 1 Consociation & 1 Association.

In 1821, Preached about equally in Fairfield, Bakersfield, Berkshire East & West. Awakning in 3 last places. My labors were unceasing. But my Memorandum for this 1821 is mislaid. Preached 12 Sabbaths in Fairfield, the rest else where.

In 1822 I preached 151 times, Baptize 15 persons, attend 39 conferences, 4 Chh meetings, admit 11 to the Chh, administer Lords

supper 10 times, attend 3 concerts 2 Associations, 1 Consociation, 1 Installation, 1 Ordination & several circular fasts.

In 1823 Preached 164 Ser, Baptized 27 persons, attended 62 conferences, 5 Chh meetings, Administer Lords supper, 15 times & admit to the Chh, 24 persons.

In 1824 I preach 166 times, Bap 9, persons, attended 4 Conferences, Administer Lords supper 7 times, attended 8 Chh meetings, 2 added to the Chh, attended 1 Concert, 1 Consociation 3 Associations, 2 Ordinations, and 3 Councils.

In 1825 Preach 129 times, Bap 7, attend 39 conferences, 17 Chh meetings, admit 5 to the Chh, attend 8 concerts, 1 Ordination, 1 Installation, administered Lords supper 9 times, attended 1 Council, & Consociation 4 times.

In 1826 Preach 121 times, Bap 14 persons, attend 36 conferences, 8 Chh meetings, 1 Association, 2 Consociations, 2 Councils, Administer Lords supper 4 times, add 5 to Chh, and attend 4 concerts.

In 1827 I preach 144 Sermons, Baptized 10 persons, attend 7 Confer, 2 Associations, 2 Consociations, 1 Concert, add 9 to the Chh, & administer Lords supper 7 times.

In 1828 Preached 144 times, Baptize 26 persons, Lords supper 6 times, attend 12 Conferences, added to the Chh 20 persons, attend 1 Consociation & 1 Installation.

In 1829 I preach 99 Ser, Bap, 14, administer Lords supper 3 times, attend 5 Church meetings, 15 conferences, 3 added to the Chh, attend 1 Installation, and 1 Consociation.

In 1830 Preach 155 Ser, bap. 16, administer Lords supper 6 times, attend 1 Chh meeting, 23 conferences, 8 added to the Chh, attend 1 Consociation, 2 Associations & 1 Council.

In 1831. Preach 177 times, bap 27, Administer Lords supper 7 times, attend 3 Chh meetings, 36 conferences, added to Chh 25 persons, attended 1 Consociation, 3 Councils & 1 Ordination.

In 1832 Preach 126 Ser, Bap 13 persons, Administer Lords supper 4 times, attend 24 Chh meetings, 31 Conferences, Add to the Chh & attend 1 Association.

In 1833 Preach 80 Ser, Sick many Sabbaths, attend 16 Chh meetings, 24 Conferences, 1 Council, 3 Associations, Baptize 3 persons, & administer the Lords supper 4 times.

Age & sickness begin greatly to curtail my Ministerial labors.

May the Lord grant grace to suitably endure all he lays upon me. Gods strokes are lighter than my guilt! Why should I complain?

In 1834 I preach 8 Sermons, Bap. 2, administer Lords supper 1, attend 12 Chh meetings, 28 conferences, One Consociation & admit 3 to the Church.

In 1835 I preach 48 Sermons, Baptize 9 persons, Administer Lords supper 3 times & attend 4 Chh meetings.

In 1836 Preach 60 Ser. Bap 6 persons, add to the Chh 2 & administer Lords supper twice.

In 1837 I attend 1 Church meeting 12 Church concerts for prayer, & administer Lords supper to one sick & dying person, Mr. Hops.

The above labors were in this Town, & out of this Town, where God in his providence seemed to call me. If any wish to see where each of my labors was performed they must go to my yearly Memorandums.

Since the commencement of my Ministerial labors in Fairfield, about 100 have entertained hopes and united with the Congregational Chh in said Town. And some have united with other denominations who acknowledged me as the instrument of their conversion.

I think from conscience, & under the influence of moral integrity, & I believe with the approbation of my God & my Saviour, I have favored the cause of Temperance, Anti Masonry & Antislavery.

I have studied those subjects till I am persuaded that it is my duty to take the stand I have done, & with still greater energy.

I embraced temperance principles because I found this Nation fast becoming a Nation of Drunkards; while a drunkard destroys his usefulness in this world, & his Soul in the world to come!

I became Antimasonic because I found Masonry to be a corrupt institution, of 100 years standing; & Masons solemnly bound not to alter it, be it ever so bad.

I found there was no Christ in a Masonic prayer. And this will damn eternally all who live up to it. A Masonic prayer can be made by a Jew, Deist, Mohametan, pagan or Arian.

I found their obligations have been so understood by their own Members, as to enjoin murder. Hence the institution ought to sink into disuse.

I embrace Antislavery because I believe all men to be of One blood, and to have an equal right to hold life, liberty & property for themselves. God has never given a bill of sale, of unoffending persons to any men. Hence one human being cannot hold another human being as property. No man has a right to the Labor of an-

other, without a just compensation. "Masters give unto your Servants that which is *just* and *equal*." Col. 4. 1. Thus they must be duly rewarded for their toil, & raised to equal privileges among men.

Slavery is a Species of Robbery. It robs men of their labor for nought. It does all it can to damn the Soul. It forbids to read the word of God. And hence it greatly exposes the Soul of the Master to damnation.

It is a fraud upon the free States. It weakens the slave holding States, & there is far less strength in the Nation, for their own protection.

It is to be expected that the vast host of irritated and abused Indians, and the Slaves will one day make a dreadful foe for the Southern States.

A wise man will foresee the evil & hide himself. There is no danger of making a people our enemies by treating them well, & doing them justice. This is the only way we can safely pursue with our black & red brethren. They are as good as we are, & they will soon find it out.

I think proper, perhaps unwisely, to mention that when I settled in this Town, I had an invitation to settle in Champlain, with much higher pecuniary compensation. They offered 100 Acres of Land, lying on the bank of their noble river, at the head of Navigation, worth \$1000 and much higher Salary than was ever paid me in Fairfield. But I saw this people small & poor, but as I thought pious. And if I did not stay with them, no one would. I was in easy circumstances, & felt willing to make a sacrifice for this people. And a Sacrifice in property I have made.

When I removed into this Town in 1805, thirty three years ago, I brot with me \$5000 in good property, Each of my Wives has brot me about \$500, making \$6000. I have drawn by way of Pension \$704,50. Making 6704,50 which I have brot with me into Town. I have had very laborious and industrious Wives. We have lived very sparingly. And with my 33 years of hard labor, I leave the Ministry with at least \$2000 less property than I brot into Town 33 years ago. This with my Pension & labors make a serious tax to pay for the support of the Gospel in one Town, or County. If this does not lay this people under obligation to show and feel gratitude, I know not what I could do to lay them under such an obligation. And yet one thing is sure; If I had been more heavenly minded, more

Self governed, more entirely devoted to God & divine things; I might have done much more good with the Sacrifice I have made.

I have a word more to say, if I can say without seeming to boast. I have perhaps preached to more awakned sinners, than any man in the County of Franklin. How far my labors have been blest to the Salvation of Souls, must be left until the day of judgment shall disclose. I have preached in two awaknings in Fairfield, in which about 80 were hopefully converted. I preached in One great awakning in Bakersfield, I think 3 in Enosburgh, One in Montgomery, One in Berkshire, One in Sheldon, One in Franklin, One in Highgate, One in Swanton, a powerful one in St. Albans, & an equally powerful one in Georgia. How far God has made use of my labors to produce awakning I cannot say: but I am persuaded that thousands will own me as their Spiritual Parent in the day of Judgment. And alas! If I had done my whole duty as I might, & as I ought, thousands more might have been tolled home to Christ by my means. Some times I thinks it possible that God prevented my being at Brandywine, Germantown & Mud Fort: turned off the balls at Monmouth, & prevented my death at Stoney Point, with special reference to the ingathering of these few Souls in Vermont. There is a perfect chain in all gods works, & not one link must be broken. For the Elects sake, men must be preserved to fulfill Gods gracious purposes.

I feel unpleasantly, now, that I am not trying to preach, perhaps I might be the instrument of the Salvation of a few more. I am Old & feeble, but perhaps could say as much as the Apostle John did, when he was Old & worn out, "Little children, love one another."

I expect to die when my work is done!

I feel at times as if I had been worthless creature, a mere cumberer of the ground. I once in Cornwall fell into this frame, felt as if I never did any good. My Wife replied, that I was the means of her conversion, & She hoped I would not think that that was a small affair. This silenced my murmurings.

And since I was old & sick and greatly disheartned, I was in an excellent family in St. Albans, where I received every attention; I felt poor & worthless and said I knew not for what purpose I had lived. She replied that She believed I had been the means of her Salvation. This made me think that God could make a good use of my poor labors, which was greatly out of my sight.

To be the instrument of the conversion of One Soul furnishes

reasons enough why balls, bayonets & battles should pass by me & leave me unhurt.

There is yet, *One thing*, among a thousand more, that perhaps may be consistent for me to mention. I feel as if there had been too much noise on the subject already. The action never deserved one half of the applause, it has received. The Story follows:

In Sept 1814 A large British Army, 14 thousand, on the Land, & a larger fleet than we possessed, on the Lake, made an attack on Plattsburgh Fort. The defence was weakened by sending off many troops to the West. The destruction of the Fort & Squadron, was considered almost certain.

The Land Army arrived first, built Batteries & kept up a constant roar of Cannon. The roar of Cannon drew many people to the center of Fairfield. The Hon Benj'n Swift came on to rally the people for the defence of Plattsburgh. He said the only resort was to Volunteers.

My people were then collecting to hear from me a preparatory lecture, in view of communion on the next Sabbath. It was now Thursday, and no one offered to go. It was thought by many that any exertion would be in vain. I knew we must leave our homes, if the British commanded the Lake. I remembered their former cruelty, & that sooner or later we should have to fight, & the sooner we began, the better.

I lifted my voice, *I will go*, and it went round briskly, *I will go*.

We raised a company that afternoon, & moved on several miles. We came to Plattsburgh on Saturday morning. We were ordered south about 5 miles to join the main body. On Sabbath morning about 10 O'clock, we heard the Alarm gun, the British fleet had arrived. We formed & marched with all expedition for the fort.

On our way we had information that the largest British Ship had struck, we knew that must decide the Battle on the water. So we stopped, swung our hats and cried *Hurrah*, & hastened on to meet the Land forces.

There was a fine roar of Cannon; from the British Batteries, the Fort and from both the Fleets. As we turned to go up the River the British fired Shells & grape, but hurt us not. We met the British front guard at the moment they were ordered to retreat. Hence we came not near them till they were flying from us.

The officer who brot up the British rear was on Horse back, I order one of my Officers to take some men & go & fetch that horse.

They flew like Hawkes to obey, & did so. It was a Horse stolen from the inhabitants, & so returned.

At this instant I was detached to command two companies, & to go to the fording place, where it was expected that the British would rush to recross the river. We went there upon a run, the British fired their field pieces at us but reached none. The British thought not proper to come there to cross; we staid till night, & retired back into the woods to lodge. We expected an attack the next morning. The ground was too cold for me to sleep on, so I was on my feet all night. I went from fire to fire, untill I found the Plattsburgh Company—and a man who said he knew every inch of the ground: and was willing to leave his Arms, cross the River & tell us what the British were doing. I then hunted up Gen'l Strong & sought leave for this man to go as I have stated, but the Gen'l declined & here the matter ended. Had he crossed, he would have reported that the British were retreating to Canada; & we should have forded the river & hung upon their rear, to great advantage. Thus we lost a good opportunity, by choosing to remain ignorant of the movement of the Enemy. So that as to us, we had almost a bloodless battle. The British were prudent enough to retreat, and our Commander was prudent enough to let them retire quietly.

We returned home, & in a few weeks I had sent me, by Daniel D. Tompkins Governor of the State of New York, and afterwards Vice President of U. S. A, Browns family Bible, Folio, gilt with Gold, and containing the Governors letter of thanks for my conduct at Plattsburgh.

This book I have kept 24 years unsoiled. This I desire to leave with my Son, for him to convey down to his Son &c as a lasting *Memento*.

We were stationed 5 miles South of the Fort, probably that the British by stratagem should not come round upon our rear & drive us before them to the Fort, & so bring us between two fires, & so help to take the Fort. We marched this 5 miles to the Fort & two miles up the River, so rapidly as greatly to heat me; then, at night to lie on the cold ground, with my under cloathes wet with sweat, threw me into a chill. And the next morning there was a heavy fall of rain; & this so injured my blood, that I have not been well since. But if I should die a little sooner for this heating & cooling, I think, I shall never be sorry for making this sacrifice.

My Mother, Phebe Wooster, followed me to Cornwall, in Vt,

joined my Church, and died in my family, Oct'r 15. 1803, Aged 67 Years. She was a tender, affectionate Mother, & exemplary Christian. I was allowed to wait upon her, in her last moments; She told me She had no desire to get well, and soon have the same Scene to go over again. Her body lies with two of my children, Saml J Mills & John Mills, in the center burying yard in Cornwall. She died in hopes of a happy Resurrection to life everlasting, in Christ Jesus. Oh! how indebted are her children for such a Mother!

From not having full support and employment in Fairfield, in the Ministry & being unwilling to leave the people, as was perhaps my duty, I have consented to preach much, gratis, & with very small support; and helped to support myself by attending to things, not particularly Ministerial. I remembered that even the Apostle Paul made tents. I found that my property was settling away fast, & that I should not be able to hold out long. One Lot of Ministerial Land, was all I could show, as the temporal compensation, for my 33^d years toil. But if one Soul has been saved by my means, it is no small affair!

My Salary in Fairfield, at best, was but \$200, and 30 Cords of wood. And this not all paid me for any one year.

From sickness, death, many removals out of Town, & few into it, of our order; & from the few being poor, my people have not been able to pay me, one half of the above Salary. my pay in Fairfield, for 20 years past will not average over \$75 a year. And this was not paid generally in the chief necessities for a family, nor in anything which would procure them. When my first Bill was made up, many withdrew; not from disaffection to me, but because support was so high. yet no man, rich or poor, paid over about \$10 per year; & generally much less. This was more than all would bear.

Hence I felt constrained to attend to some things forreign to the Ministry, in order to enable me to perform the more Ministerial labor. In this way I provided some thing to pay my taxes, and my Store debts.

In some cases I sat as Commissioner on estates,—as Administrator, assisted as a Reference; Once represented the Town of Fairfield, in general Assembly; twice at the Septennial Convention called by Censors: Served one year as Town Clerk, several years as justice of the peace. Fined one person \$1 for profane Swearing; threatened another; he said, over & over, he would swear; but never did, in my hearing, while I remained justice of the peace.

I was once chosen Selectman, but declined. I was chosen Major in the Horse, but declined.

I served many years as Chaplin to the Regiment; Was chosen Captain by the Plattsburgh Volunteers, both when I went & after I returned home; Spent considerable money, but was never paid any thing.

Was made Committee to lay out a 3 cent road tax, by general Assembly; Collected some debts; was highway Surveyor for several years. That our roads are much Streightened, and as good as they are, much depends on my labor.

Perhaps I shall not let my left hand know, what my right hand doeth, if I should mention some things which are already made public.

I was made, by the Females, in Fairfield, by my family, & by myself, a member of the American Tract Society, by paying \$20. And pd at twice \$20 Since. This besides my buying tracts.

I was made a life member of the Vt branch of the American Education Society by paying myself \$10 at one time.

I was made, by the people, & by myself, a life member of the American Board of Forreign Missions.

I have at other times contributed to this Noble Institution—and lately sent them a \$10 bill at one time.

I have paid \$12 to American Anti Slavery Society, & some thing to the Vermont branch of that blessed institution.

I paid the American Bible Society about \$30 & my present Wife has paid \$20 to the American, & \$20 to Vt Branch.

I have sundry times paid some thing to the Colonization Society, altho' I ever feared that its tendency was to lengthen out Slavery, by flattering, hiring, whipping, burning, & driving the free people of color off to Liberia. I consider the Slave holders about as guilty for their treatment of the free blacks, as of the Slaves. They wished the Slaves to see them wretched, & so would not hire them. Made them as wretched as they could, in order to make the Slaves contented.

The poor I have not forgotten; they are my witnesses, that I have fed the hungry, cloathed the naked, & sacrificed much property, rather than to distress them. If I have erred in this respect, I am persuaded it is on the side of indulgence, determined to suffer wrong rather than to do wrong. I have not "exactd all my labours." Much of my property is gone in poor debts, where I would not use

the Civil Law to enforce collections, as sharp dealers do. Here perhaps I have sustained my greatest losses of property. When I have sold any thing, I have felt bound not to conceal the blemishes, nor to ask more than the thing was worth. And when I have bought any thing, I have felt bound to give its value, & not to take advantage of a poor man's necessities.

The first 9 years of my Ministry, which was a very active part of my life, I kept no memorandum of my labors except what is contained in my Missionary Narratives: but since I came to Fairfield, I have endeavored to keep an exact journal of all my Ministerial Labors. And in my journal I mention the place where my services were performed; but in this sketch I have only mentioned my labors whether performed in Fairfield, or else where. If any wish to be more particular they must have recourse to my yearly Memorandums.

I was married to Sally Harris, since called *Sarah*, a few weeks before my ordination in Cornwall, & She lived with me about 28 years, was the Mother of Eleven children, & died of a consumption, Oct'r 19. 1824, Aged 51 Years. Her Father, Deacon Israel Harris, commonly called Capt. Harris, because Capt in the Army of the Revolution, first lived in East Rutland, then removed to Hartford, In the State of New York, where he lived a humble & devoted life, & died Nov. 28th 1836, aged 90 years. This Aged patriarch had 5 Sons & 6 daughters: but his wife and all his children, but two sons, died before him.

Sarah, my Wife, lived to close the eyes of 7 of her children. Thus she was called to pass through a furnace of affliction before She was called to her own long home. In her last sickness She was calm & resigned; She said the Grave looked pleasant to her. She told me one day when I returned home from abroad, that She had been reconing with herself, & the result was that She belonged to the family of Christ Jesus. And so I am persuaded She did, & is gone to rest in the bosom of her God & Saviour; where sickness & death can never come!

Perhaps it would not be unpleasant to my living children, to have a short family Record of my dead & living members of our family. It may remind them of their own mortality & hasten their preparations to follow their friends into eternity.

Benj'n Harris born Sept 17th 1797 died March 12 1810 Aged 12 years.

Sarah Harris was born March 6. 1799 Married to Harmon Nor-

throp Oct'r 15th 1817 and is now mother of a respectable family of children.

Samuel John Mills was born Feb. 9, 1801 and died March following aged 28 days.

John Mills born April 12. 1802 died Aug—9th 1803—These two were buried with their Grand Mother in Cornwall.

Eliza was born Jany 26. 1804 died April 4th 1808, at Fairfield, aged 4 years.

Mills was born Oct'r 25 1805 died Jan'y 14 1806, aged one year.

Betsy born Dec 1st 1806, died April 10th 1808 aged 2 years.

Chole Harris born Nov. 27. 1808 died March 10th 1813, aged 5 years.

Benj'n Harris Restored, born Feb. 2d 1811, and now lives a single man in our Family, Aged 27 years.

Charlotte Eliza born May 2d 1813, Married to Hezekiah Tracy Comstock Sept. 13, 1837.

Louisa Cornelia, born Nov. 13th 1815, now lives a single woman in our family aged 23 years.

Here is our dying family, the greatest part already dead, & the rest soon to follow.

My Wife, before she died, singled out the person with whom She wished me to be connected. That person was Miss Sally Cooper of Sheldon, a single maiden Lady of 44 years of age. She sustained the character of a pious woman, & had lived in habits of intimacy with my Wife for several years. With this intimation I complied, & have ever had occasion to honor the choice. Few have been so highly favored, as I have been, in the selection of my two companions. The one, I firmly believe, is gone to glory; the other must probably survive me, and close my eyes. O that God would give us grace to adorn our connection while we live, & so we spend an eternity in praising God together.

Sally Cooper while a single Lady, laid up about \$1000 in cash. After we were married, I found this to be the case. She brought to me, in furniture, about \$500, which was a great help to me. I proposed that She should take about as much more, & lay it out for a small but excellent farm in Sheldon, & have the deed run to herself & heirs. This was done, & we have rented it for \$30 a year, & laid it out mostly in repairs on her farm. One years rent, She took in money, & devoted it to charitable purposes. \$10 She gave to the

forreign Mission board, \$10 to the United States Tract Society, & \$10 to the United States Antislavery Society.

The Land was deeded to her, so that She might be sure of support, even if my property dwindled away to little or nothing. How long we may live, and how expensive may be our last days, are to us unknown. Wisdom therefore dictated to make provision for the worst. She will be entitled to her thirds out of my property, if I have any left; but how this will be, or whether there will be sufficient for her honorable support, is to us unknown.

In 1838 I linger on the Shores of Mortality with little to do, but to prepare to die; & yet my wasted body and weak mind are to much taken up with cares & with things far short of heaven. My body, mind & years are wasting away, but without bodily pain. Once, this year, I came so near to death as to be totally insensible; and was brot to by Medical aid; was bled without my knowledge of it. Had I been left but a short time longer, I should have died, as easy as going to sleep. And yet I had no pain. One thing I greatly desire, & that is that I may die so as not to dishonor my God and religion. I have lived beyond my expectation. I have felt, as if, while life lasted, I had a work to do.

Under these impressions I wrote a Sermon on John 7. 37 and preached it to a good congregation of attentive hearers. And I pray Almighty God that it may not be in vain, but have some happy fruits.

I have attended generally to the Monthly prayer meetings & Chh meetings, and also Generally to Sabbath meetings when we had preaching. For being able to do this, & for being almost entirely free from pain, I feel myself under everlasting obligations, to be grateful & thankful to Almighty God for his great goodness shewn to an unworthy worm.



TWO DOCUMENTS RELATING TO IRA ALLEN

The originals of the documents given below were found by Mrs. Mary G. Nye, research worker in the office of the Secretary of State, in the back of a file of old Acts in the Secretary's office. The place of the documents in Ira Allen's troubled story is not particularly significant, but they are interesting in view of the fact that they emphasize again that century-old rumors about Allen are the old heritage in Vermont of the attitudes of his enemies—rumors that have kept him in the popular mind a much less impressive figure than his brother, Ethan. Neither the letter nor the bill appear in Wilbur's heavily documented "Ira Allen—Founder of Vermont."

The bill was presented to the Legislature with the idea of freeing the body of Ira Allen from arrests in civil suits for one year. It was referred to a committee—on which Isaac Tichenor placed three of his party, the result being that the committee reported that the bill should be dismissed. It was then moved that Allen should be heard, and he presented his case so cogently that the report of the committee was rejected. The bill was referred to a committee for amendment, and the amended bill was enacted by a vote of seventy-eight to sixty-three; so Allen was free to live in peace in Vermont for one year. The action may be interpreted as clarifying and justifying his record—to the date, at least, indicated. These are true copies of the originals. Editor.

Newbury Nov^r 3^d 1801

Sir.

In Virtue of Instructions from the Lait Governor Chittenden to Purchas arms & Cannon for the use of this State I made a Contract with the French Government for 20,000 Stands of arms 24 Brass field Pieces, by the Governors Spech & other Information I find that the Militia are yet Defiteant in arms. I therefore on the following Conditions offer to Supply this State with arms furnished with Bayonets not Exceeding 30,000 Stands & 30 Brass field Pieces. That

the Legislature fully Authorise me to Purchas arms & other Implants of War for the use of this State in France that they Instruct the Senators & Representatives of this State in Congress to use their Influence that the President of the United States Instruct the Ministers of the United States in Europe to Exert themselves to Protect sd arms Cannon &c from any Captors or Detention in the Passage from France to Newyork under the Spetial Instructions of the Minister of the United States in Paris that after the Arival of sd Arms at Newyork I Reserve to myself the Right of Selling S^d arms to the Militia of Vermont & should there be more than are Necessary to Supply the Defitiancies in this State to Sell the Remainder to some of the United States.

I am with due Respect
your most obedient

Humble Servt

Ira Allen

Amos Marsh Esqr
Speaker of the House
of Representatives —

(Filing on reverse of letter)

Ira Allen's
Communication

Nov^r 3. 1801.

In General Assembly Nov^r 4. 1801.

This communication read and referred to Mr. Chipman Mr Theo Harrington, and M^r Witherell, to join such committee as the council may appoint, *to sit immediately*, state facts, and report

Att. Ja^s Elliot, Clk

In Council, 4th Nov^r 1801.

Resolved. That Mr Galusha and M^r Chamberlin do join the afores^d Com^{ee}

Mr. R. Whitney, Sec^r

Whereas Ira Allen Esqr. of Colchester, in the County of Chittenden, & State of Vermont, at the request of the late Thomas Chittenden Esqr. late Governor of this State, undertook to purchase arms, & other implements of war in Europe, for the use of the Militia of this State, & to solicit the British Government to open a canal, navigable for ships, from Lake Champlain to the river St Lawrence,—And whereas the sd. Ira Allen Esqr. did, in pursuance of such undertaking, some years since, make a voyage to Europe for the purposes aforesd. & did there obtain an engagement of the British Ministers, that such a canal should be accomplished,—which it is conceived will be of great mercantile advantage to this State, particularly to the western part thereof—And whereas the sd. Ira Allen Esqr. did, in pursuance of his sd. undertaking, purchase, of the French Government, twenty thousand muskets, furnished with bayonets, & twenty four brass four pound field pieces,—& with the same property, on his return, from Europe to America, was captured by an English ship of war, carried back to England, & his sd. cargo was there libelled in the British High Court of Admiralty,—which occasioned the sd. Allen a long & expensive suit at law, & his detention from his Country, his family, & his local interests & concerns, for more than four years,—And whereas, during the sd. Allen's long detention in Europe, as aforesd—many Judgments of Courts, in this State, have been wrongfully obtained against him,—by reason that his family, & counsel, in his absence, had not the necessary papers, & other means for defence,—by which sd. Judgment, & other extraordinary measures, many large, & valuable tracts of land have been wrested from the sd. Allen, which still, in equity & good conscience, belong to him.—And whereas, immediately, on the sd. Allen's return to his native country, he was arrested, & harrassed by many feigned & groundless suits and processes, designed to embarrass him, & to disenable & prevent him from pursuing his legal & equitable rights, & remedies, for retrieving his sd. lands & other property from their present embarrassed situation,—& with like design new suits, of a like nature & without foundation, are still frequently instituted against the sd. Allen,—And whereas the sd. Allen, may, in all probability, as well extricate his lands, & other local property from their present embarrassed situation, as also regain his sd. arms, & other property, taken from him by sd. English ship of war, as aforesd. & now detained in England, only for want of such proofs as would be easily in his power to furnish, could he have time, & be at liberty to attend

thereto,—As appears by a Commission from the Lords of Appeal in London, addressed to the Magistrates of Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, & the Province of lower Canada,—Whereby the sd. Allen would be enabled to discharge his honest debts, & to save his property from ruin, & himself & family from want.—

It is, therefore, hereby enacted, by the authority of the State of Vermont,—That for one whole year, to be fully complete & ended, next after the rising of the present Session of this General Assembly, the sd. Ira Allen Esq. shall, in his proper person, be free, & exempt, from all suits, writs, warrants, executions, or processes, of a civil nature, whatsoever, & that for the full term of one year, as aforesd. to be complete & ended from & after the rising of the present session of this Legislature, no writ, warrant, execution, or other process, whatever, of a civil nature, from whatever judicial or executive authority, under this State, the same may issue,—shall be valid & of force against him the sd. Ira Allen, in his proper person, as aforesd—

And it is hereby further enacted, that if, at any time, within the sd. year, as aforesd. the sd. Ira Allen, in his proper person, as aforesd. shall, by virtue of any such writ, warrant, execution, or other process, as aforesd. be arrested & thereon held to bail, or imprisoned, by any officer, or other person, serving the same,—he, the sd. Ira Allen, on producing to such officer, or other person so serving such writ, warrant, execution, or other process as aforesd.—a copy of this fact, properly certified by the Secretary of State, shall thereon be immediately discharged & released from such imprisonment & arrest—

And it is hereby farther enacted, that if any officer, or other person, so serving any such writ, warrant, execution, or other process, as aforesd. shall, after the sd. Allen shall have so produced a copy of this act as aforesd.—refuse to let go the sd. Allen,—& shall still, afterwards, detain him, a prisoner thereon, or compel him to procure bail thereon,—such officer, or other person so offending, against the intention & meaning of this act,—shall be liable to the sd. Allen in an action of false imprisonment, in the same manner as if the sd. writ, warrant, execution, or other process had issued without proper & legal Authority—

Provided, however, & it is hereby excepted that the property of the sd. Ira Allen, whether real or personal, shall, in all cases be liable to any writ of attachment, or execution, which may issue against the sd. Allen.—& such attachment or execution shall, in all cases have the same operation as if this act had never passed—

(Filing on above)

Ira Allen's Bill.

Nov^r 4. 1801

Referred to

M^r J. Wright

M^r Chipman

M^r Elias Keyes

M^r Hunt

M^r Dunbar

Att. Ja^s Elliot Clk

Nov^r 5.

Read & referred to M^r

Buel, M^r T. Harrington

& M^r Chipman

Att. Ja^s Elliot Clk

(Committee Report on reverse of bill)

Newbury Nov^m 5th 1801

Your committe to whom was referrd the within Bill ask leave to report that in our oppinion the same ought not to pass but the same ought to be dismissed

Josiah Wright for comittee



"THE HILL COUNTRY OF NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND." *A REVIEW.*

THE HILL COUNTRY OF NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND. By HAROLD FISHER WILSON. 455 pp. New York. Columbia University Press. \$4.25.

Here is a book at last that clears away much of the haze that has distorted our understanding of various significant social and economic changes in Vermont during the past one hundred and fifty years. The author is a native Vermonter, the son of the late Guy Wilson, town clerk of Bethel, Vermont, for over a quarter of a century; so the book is based upon a native rather than an adopted or adapted point of view, and the specific angles of the study find definite synthesis through that local point of view. The field of the study has been sharply defined and maintained; so the discussion is sustained without the frayed ends that so often mar a book of this type. Doctor Wilson has rigorously avoided enticing byways of theoretical explanations and has been faithful to his thesis. In a word, then, it is the opinion of the reviewer that this analysis of the forces so long functioning in our hill country has been competently done; and he would add bluntly that the book merits careful consideration on the part of those actually engaged in furthering the economic interests of the regions referred to. In addition, the reader who is puzzled by current explanations of economic changes will find in the book understandable, sensible, closely reasoned, and, on the whole, convincing answers to his questions.

Doctor Wilson selected for the base of his study three states—Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont; and his analysis follows parallel lines in procedure. Since our primary interest is in his application of his method to Vermont, I will sketch the general phases of his treatment, pausing at certain points to suggest some of his pertinent and suggestive conclusions. He divides the one hundred and forty years that form the periods under research into four divisions: Summer, 1790-1830; Autumn, 1830-1870; Winter, 1870-1900; Spring, 1900-1930.

The years from 1790 to 1830 are described by the author as "The Age of Self-Sufficiency." The hill farm was self-supporting, so "the location of the farm was not vital to its successful operation." The little cash needed could be procured by selling products that could be transported over long distances without damage. For instance, a Windsor toll bridge journal shows that 600 sheep and 127 cattle crossed the bridge on one November day on the way to Boston. The range of the population trend in the hill country was upward during this period: "a greater proportion of the hill country gained in inhabitants than at any other period in its history," but toward the close of this "Summer" period, the southeastern corner of Vermont was losing heavily in inhabitants, Guilford, for instance, the largest town in the state in 1790 reporting only 1760 residents in 1830. By 1830, Doctor Wilson states, "the buoyancy of life in the uplands had worn away; the stimulus of pioneering had departed; and the hill country was entering on a new phase of development."

In the "Autumn" period in Vermont from 1830 to 1870, the majority of agricultural towns attained their maximum growth and their decline followed. The purchase of manufactured materials was a marked factor in causing the disappearance of the self-sustaining farm and the coming of commercial agriculture. After the turnpike system failed to solve transportation problems and river-boating gave evidence of inefficient results, the railroad net began to spread and acted as a stimulant in the regions it touched, but "it did not bring to the hill country the new lease of life that had been anticipated. Instead of being checked, the decline in rural population intensified." Thus, as the author points out, "Upland interior New England suffered heavier losses of inhabitants in these years than in the forty years before 1830. . . . " In northern Vermont and along or near the backbone of the Green Mountain Range, however, by 1850 or 1860, a large number of the towns were at "flood tide."

In tracing the forces that led to the decline of the upland towns, the author gives an able analysis of the "call of the West," which appealed particularly to the young people in the hill sections where economic conditions were against their future. In addition to the "California disease," there was the lure of the Mid-West farm lands, made attractive by railroad publicity. Then the cities or urban sections added their invitation; and, finally, we have the Civil War, which drew 34,000 of Vermont's young men into service, and "not

one-half of those who served in the war ever came back to the state as permanent residents."

It was during the period under discussion that the sheep industry saw its heyday in Vermont; and in the chapter, "The Sheep Industry," the reviewer believes that readers will meet a compact, thoroughly sound study of the much debated rise and fall of the industry with the causes and supporting data carefully analyzed. It should be a final chapter on this important phase of Vermont's economic history.

The sheep industry had made farming profitable; but with the decay of the industry, farming on many a New England hillside became unprofitable, and the abandonment of thousands of the more isolated farms followed. The period that ensued from 1870 to 1900 Doctor Wilson calls "Winter," and he proceeds to establish the aptness of the term he uses.

In the years from 1870 to 1900, "the shock of the widespread desertion of farms and the pronounced decline in rural population, with their social and economic consequences, stunned the hill country." From this situation emerged the problem of the "abandoned farm." Here again, the author has given us a highly competent and thorough analysis of a tenaciously troublesome question with many interwoven strands. Space being limited, I merely list the "causes of rural decline" that appear in his analysis: burden of taxation, Puritan attitudes, dietary habits, use of cider, climate, lessened fertility of the soil, location of abandoned farms, the call of the West, the lure of the city, isolation, selective migration, the psychological reaction upon those remaining in semi-deserted regions. I hasten to add that Doctor Wilson does not support some of these so-called "causes," and my crude listing does not reveal the cogency of his discussion of the real causes. For these the reader must turn to the book.

Incidentally, the popular question, "Why were the hill farms ever occupied?", is answered by Doctor Wilson with the suggestions that flood conditions in valleys, undergrowth along streams, variations in stream courses, made high land attractive. He points out, also, that the hills were easier to clear than the tangled woods in the valleys. It was believed that the leaf-mold on the hills was excellent for vegetation. Fear of loneliness and the desire for protection were factors in the early days. Finally, the uplands offered better transportation and quicker communication than the valleys, for bridges were not needed, and roads could be laid along the shortest routes.

By 1888, state officials were aware of the threat to the state's welfare in the declining hill agriculture with its attendant problems. Doctor Wilson rehearses the futile efforts of the various legislatures to revive the ebbing farm life of the hills, and he comes to the conclusion that the movement will go on "till most of the poorly situated farms have been given up." He mentions some "ameliorating influences," such as the extension of the railroad net which brought new regions into closer contact with the outside world, and efforts to make available for farmers information about new agricultural methods.

Among the forces tending to give vitality to the hill country was the rise of the dairy industry which came close on the heels of the dying sheep industry. Since it is impossible to give even an approximate summary of the author's close analysis of the rise of the dairy industry, I must, again, refer my readers to the book and merely point out that the appearance of the industry precedes what Doctor Wilson calls the "Spring" phase of economic changes in the hill country.

This "Spring" period from 1900 to 1930, owing to a narrowing perspective, offers some debatable issues, but it seems to me that the author's presentation is able in all its details. He deals first with certain adjustments—changes in types of products raised, for instance—which lead to specialization and intensive agriculture; the growth of the maple crop and its possibilities and the future of reforestation methods are then considered. A chapter is given to "Educating the Farmer," which covers the various attempts to aid the hill farmer to make his farm profitable. Under the topic, "Quickening Influences," which contributed to the "Spring" period, Doctor Wilson lists the Rural Free Delivery system, the telephone, the automobile, plowing of secondary roads, the radio, coming of permanent residents, Old Home Week. Some of these "influences" are minor in character and importance, but they have their places in the complete picture which Doctor Wilson draws.

Another factor in the "Spring" phase is the summer recreation industry. This industry is discussed exhaustively, twenty-four pages being given to a study of its beginnings and development. The author's conclusion is that "The growth of the summer recreation industry proved to be more beneficial to the New England hill country than any other single factor except the development of dairying." On the latter topic he says, "The greatest single factor in the maintenance of agriculture in the New England hill country during the

first three decades of the twentieth century was the growth of the market for milk and cream in the nearby cities." These two chapters, thus hastily summarized, and a later chapter, "Dairying Problems and Attempts to Solve Them," are among the most significant and important in the book. Since many problems of the present dairy industry are in a state of flux, no final chapter can be written, but it is safe to say that Doctor Wilson has made the problems of the present more understandable through his study of the problems of the past.

Except for a section including useful "Appendices," the book closes with a chapter entitled, "The Hill Country in Retrospect." We find that the amount of improved land has steadily diminished, that "the abandonment of farms during these three decades was a continuation of the movement begun in the previous century, that "the inhabitants of rural northern New England were attracted in large numbers to the cities of southern New England," that young people were, for the most part, those leaving. Other forces he considers are taxation, floods, submarginal farms, and the decline in farm population. On the optimistic side, however, Doctor Wilson states that by 1930 New England had made extensive progress in adapting itself to changed conditions.

It is not difficult to vision the service this scholarly, readable book might render—not, of course, in concrete solutions of immediate problems, but in its careful presentation of a background of fact on which solutions must be based. Although it is too much to expect, probably, that it will be widely read by those who are in close contact with economic problems in Vermont, one could wish that all state officials, even all legislators, might be compelled to study it—even as one realizes that such a wish is decidedly naïve. The student of Vermont's social and economic history, however, will find it a rewarding book—a book he must know if he is really a student of Vermont affairs. It belongs among the permanent books on a Vermont bookshelf.

A. W. P.



POSTSCRIPT

A READER of the *Proceedings* suggests that there should be some arrangement made for an annual meeting of Vermont historians or those interested in research in Vermont historical subjects. If the idea does not win more response than my hint that I should like to publish a list of those who have research in hand, I doubt if the suggestion will make any headway, but I note it here for what it is worth. It would seem that if only our local historians might gather in Montpelier under the auspices of the Society, some progress could be made in solving many a problem in our history; and even if such sessions did not prove to be decisive in historical interpretations, they might contribute much that would be worth while in good fellowship in an interesting work.

It would be neither just nor accurate to say that the history of Vermont has been a neglected study, but there is plenty of evidence to show that many a phase of that history has not been made the subject of intensive research; in other words, no thoroughly comprehensive history of the state has been written or attempted. Through the medium of a fund of \$100,000 established by a loyal citizen of New Jersey, that state is to have a comprehensive history published. The history is to take the form of twenty-five or more monographs presenting the complete and detailed history of the state. These monographs will form the basis for a general history of three or four volumes. Most of the research work will be done by members of the Princeton University faculty, and the monographs and books will be published by the Princeton University Press. Some Vermonter would achieve a very real and a deserved immortality if he would establish a similar fund for a parallel purpose.

We congratulate the Wilbur Library of the University of Vermont on its good fortune in acquiring a copy of the rare book of poems by James John, *The Green Mountain Muse*. This seems to be the only copy extant. The book, a small cloth-bound volume, was

published in Burlington by the Foote and Stacy Printing Company in 1828.

The late Walter H. Crockett's history of Lake Champlain has been revised and brought up to date by Professor Evan Thomas of the University of Vermont. Besides a number of revisions of the original text, based on newly discovered material, the book will contain much new material including an account of the raising of the "Philadelphia." The book will be published by the McAuliffe Company in Burlington.

Many a January first vow is doomed to bloom and blush unseen, but we hope that members of the Society will make it a point if not a vow to keep us informed of their changes of address. A single postal card can do a real service in a good cause. Just send the card with your change of address to the Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont.

EDITOR.

Applications for membership in the Vermont Historical Society should be addressed to the Society at Montpelier, Vermont. Annual dues for Active Members are two dollars. The fee for Life Membership is fifty dollars, and such fees are added to the permanent endowment funds. Members, active and life, receive the Proceedings without charge and are entitled to subscribe before publication to the Society's other publications at one-third less than the list price.

